2: Underhill E-3 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

624 526 Like the war leader, this ceremonial official might have a younger assistant to lead the cheering and argue the possible fouls. The women contestants had a woman for this function "since it would not be right for a woman to argue with a man."

SONG LEADER

624 533 A man with a loud voice and a memory for songs was chosen to lead the communal singing, particularly at the liquor fermentation. He usually asked certain good singers to stand next to him and head the line.

THE COUNCIL

623 In every village, or even where two or three families were camping together, a nightly men's meeting was held. This was the real governing power of the community. It decided on communal activities: agricultural work, hunts, war, the dates of ceremonies, games with other villages. It approved the installation of a chief or of new residents in the village. "And if there was nothing to discuss, they would come together and talk." (21). Men reported whether they had seen tracks of enemies or of deer. Visitors from other villages were welcomed and questioned.

[681] Attendance was a duty for every man and in the myths a man who absented himself was dealt with by a deputation. There was no point at which a boy became officially eligible but when he seemed old enough to understand and wanted to go, some older relative [562] would take him. Women were not admitted but when something interesting was discussed, they would stand outside and listen. "But we didn't do it much, because our husbands came home and told [756] us." According to two informants, the shaman was excluded as a possible sorcerer (1).

There was a distinction between the men who formed the actual deliberative body and the listeners. The word s'teu-amit-cu't means wise, or able. It was not an official title but was applied to men who had shown themselves fit to take part in the council. In some villages these were selected by the Keeper of the Meeting (15, 11), who would test a promising mature man by having him make ex tempore, one of the usual speeches of admonition and seeing if he remembered all the points (21). "He must have good judgment and a quick understanding of what is said. The old men were always [554] looking out for people like that." In some villages no man was expected to speak unless he were a "ripe man", that is, had been through the purification incident on salt gathering or enemy killing (9). In others enemy killing was the qualification (25). Or

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

the wise man might simply attain his position by the exhibition of good judgment. "If he showed sense, they would listen to him" (8). This is the standard exploit in tales of the orphan boy, who makes a good suggestion in meeting before he is considered old enough to speak. The important factors would seem to have been a man's practical sense and knowledge of traditions.

In the summer village the meeting was held in the Big House: in camp it was in a brush enclosure, or even a cleared space on the ground. The Keeper of the Meeting or the man who was acting as such built a fire in the center of the place to be used, called the people or had them called and sat down facing the east. (In a house or enclosure this would mean opposite the door.)

The wise men, as they arrived, took their places around the fire and the listeners behind them. The crier sat at the right of the Keeper. In villages where there was a speaker to put the leader's proposals the speaker sat at the right and the crier at the left. Some informants thought that each wise man had his allotted place which he occupied during life and which was assigned to a new wise man on his death (14). The same informant thought that the shamans, far from being excluded, had special places, at the north, south, east, and west of the circle, as they do at the drinking ceremony. At present certain prominent men are allowed by custom always to have seats near the Keeper, but there is no other formality.

Some informants thought that the Leg always sat behind the Keeper ready to be sent on errands. Another said that when the meeting was held in a roofless enclosure, the fire was put outside it so as to deceive the Apache. One man then had the duty of running to the fire to bring an ember for lighting the cigarettes. He sat behind the Keeper and was called the peg, that is, the peg with which a hide is fastened down for drying (25).

The proper demeanor in this and all other assemblies was to sit on the heels with arms folded and head bent. The hair should be tied with a thong, so that there would be no disturbing motion of raising the hand to keep it from blowing. It was highly blameworthy to show signs of drowsiness and the offender would have a lighted cigarette thrust between his toes.

The men arrived in silence and when all were seated, the ceremonial cigarette was passed. This was a six inch tube of cane or cornhusk filled, in the earliest days, with wild tobacco. The Keeper lit this or had it lit by an assistant and puffed ceremonially with an invocation, "Now do I breathe out. It will reach you. You will send a benefit" (14). Or, "May he bless me, give me life and lead me along a good road." The power originally referred to was thought

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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important during the war years. However, by far the greater part of the social worker's time during the war years was spent on Selective Service matters, including registration of Indian young men, assistance in completing questionnaires for the Tucson draft board, investigation of dependency, and getting the selectees to places of examination and induction. 748

Relief rolls are small; the peak case load was reached in January, 1943, with 123 families, but five months later the total was only ten cases. There is little delinquency, only ten cases having been handled between 1940 and 1945. 746 [738]

LAW AND ORDER

The maintenance of law and order on the Papago reservations is under the judicial authority of the tribal court, which is discussed in the following section, but the Indian Service employs a chief of police, two policemen, and two judges—all Indians. The Papago are a law-abiding people who commit few crimes of violence. 625

The chief difficulty of the police lies in enforcing the Indian Liquor Law. The Indian police attempt to prevent trouble on occasions when there is likely to be drinking, and they are frequently asked in advance to be present. But there are so few police and the territory is so large and so near to a convenient source of illicit liquor—Mexico—that legal sanctions are not very effective. Indian judges impose jail sentences for drunkenness, and off the Reservation state and local authorities also arrest intoxicated Indians. [689]

AGENCY STAFF AND INDIANS

Nominally, every staff member up to and including the superintendent is accessible to any Indian who desires to talk with him, but relatively few Indians seek such contacts. To consult anyone except the teachers and the field medical staff, a Papago usually must go to Sells, where the white Agency milieu does not encourage confidence. Most of the people feel that this is a different world, where it is little use for them to go except when summoned or perhaps to ask for a job. Even political leaders find a barrier between themselves and the Agency personnel. 657

This is not the result of official policy, and in recent years determined efforts have been made to bring together the administrative staff and the people for whose welfare they are working. Yet, the size of the Reservation and the large amount of detailed work to be done by a small staff make it difficult even for division heads, whose planning should be on the basis of frequent consultation with the people, to confer with individual Indians often or at length. Only teachers in the isolated districts have prolonged and intimate contacts with the villagers.